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841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression *odôde odôde odôde* signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 The Nhambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian [20] certifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: *tagêtse, tagêtse*, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 208) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena. 843 In the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated *sôlêwôdêtse* and, in 847 the central and southern dialects, *tasôlêdêge*, *tagôtsêe*. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [66] for "father": *sôgôtsêe* (*sô* = man, *ô*), *tasôlêde*, *sôlêe*. On the other hand, in the northern

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238 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[375] the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
382 and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
406 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (bi) has named poetically: tamindige kihidige, that is faint love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than sexual relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterize, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tamindige tamihdige (bi)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

238 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
[375] adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
407 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
● [201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tantin ialiagtun. (bi)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

407 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
[379] (najakitsunhi, 9) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

648 37. tamalo ãtse mundjare mundjandjare ajaã' (bl)
649 The Yamande sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
● 201 In one case which we witnessed, the general tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[201] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of hairi straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [91] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[201] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. nãwi nãwi nãwi nãwi munintãi (bl)
Give, give, me, me, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
649 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take--commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds, the northern and central groups consider

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(ca. 1912)

518 At the post of Tôa Burítis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[268 125] They are capable of plaiting cotton and tucum (1) thread more

1. Bactris setosa (Ed.).

than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[77] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

281 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "Ikhmerá!"

512 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[137] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uérê!" (son).

858 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atigú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[171] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunsu threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the num-
201 ber demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

805 To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle kengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangré the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.